316 339 is quarried, lorry loads of wood are brought out, and, as in the manufacture of lime, layers of gypsum are interspersed with layers of wood and the pile fired. The slabs of gypsum are then removed and beaten into a fine powder which, when mixed with water, acts like cement. It has the advantage of being quick setting and is still used by those who cannot afford to buy imported cement.

WEAVING

288 438 291 [697] Weaving is carried on in some of the villages of Bahrain, in Abu Saiba, south of the Budaiya Road and elsewhere. "Awzars," simple garments worn by the villagers around their waists in the summer, are woven from imported cotton, while in many coastal villages the sailors spend the winters weaving sail-cloth. The prisoners on Jidda Island are also employed in weaving, on imported Irish looms, but their activities can hardly be classed as a local industry.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ANTIQUITIES OF BAHRAIN

THE WORLD'S LARGEST GRAVEYARD

172 764 THE tumuli of Bahrain have never been counted, but their number has been estimated at 50,000. In these tumuli Bahrain possesses one of the unsolved mysteries of archaeology, for despite the numerous expeditions that have been made to discover their origin, this is still in dispute.

There are three groups of tumuli in Bahrain. The largest group is that which lies on the plain between Aali and the Rifaas. The second group is to the far north of Bahrain, on each side of the Manama-Budaiya Road between Jidhafs and Diraz. The third group, consisting of a few dozen graves, is in the clearing to the north of the Suq al-Khamis Mosque.

The first group of tombs is daily passed by hundreds of people travelling between Manama and Awali, but the best examples of tumuli in this group are not along the main road but are near the village of Aali. These mounds are the largest in Bahrain and while some of them are used by the villagers for baking their pottery, the majority are just as they were left after their opening by various archaeologists. Most of these tombs face south-west and P. B. Cornwall[1] has suggested that the reason for this is that the builders of the mounds worshipped the Evening Star, Venus, which at sunset lies to the south-west. The majority of the tumuli have two storeys and, in the chamber tombs, there are niches cut into the sides of the passages. The sides and roofs of the graves themselves are of local stone and were originally covered with a layer of gypsum. Some of the tumuli are surrounded by low walls of mud and gravel. Finds in these tumuli have included the bones of men and animals, ivory statues, pieces of circular boxes, golden ornaments and earthenware vessels decorated with black stripes.

There is little agreement among the experts as to the origin and dating of these burials and each has drawn his own deductions from the

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya. It[1] was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins

[1] [the town of Budaiya .. Analyst]

of the Egg," a small village with many seafaring inhabitants. To the north of Sitra there is a very pleasant sandy beach looking towards Umm a-Hasan where there is excellent bathing; the view also includes Nabih Salih and Jaziyra. There is deep water to the north of Sitra, and it is here that the Bahrain Government is building the new Port of Manama with a pier running into deep water from the shore between Umm al-Hasan and Jufair. 361 [504]

JIDDA

This island is about 2½ miles from Budaiya. It is small and rocky and in appearance unlike any of the other Bahrain Islands. Its high cliffs rise abruptly from the water and a few fort-like buildings are silhouetted against the sky-line. On the south side of the island there is a level strip of land which is extensively cultivated. Jidda is Bahrain's penal settlement; here all long term prisoners are detained, spending their time cutting stone, weaving and working in the gardens. There is a small house on the top of the cliffs above the jetty which catches all the wind in the summer and which is used by the Adviser to the Bahrain Government. Being a prison island, Jidda is forbidden to general visitors. 101 133 697 [486]

The stone quarries at Jidda are of great age and it is likely that the large stones which line the graves in the burial mounds were cut here. There is an Arabic inscription roughly cut on one of the cliffs which reads as follows : 316

"During the month of Shaban in the year 968 (April/May, 1561) there was completed the cutting of the 100,000th rock for the mending of the tower of the Bahrain fort in the wazirate of the Great Wazir Jilal ad-Din Murad Mahmud by the hand of the slave . . . " (a few words after this are unreadable).

UMM AN-NASAAN

This, the second largest of the Bahrain islands, lies a few miles across the shallow water to the south of Jidda. It is sandy and flat, with the exception of two small limestone hills towards its centre which break the monotony of its shape. At the north end of the island there are several natural springs and artesian wells from which extensive date gardens are irrigated; they were planted by the late Ruler of Bahrain, H.H. Shaikh Hamed, who also established on the island a herd of black buck and gazelle, the former being imported from India and the latter from the mainland of Bahrain. 101 133 312 [136]

There is evidence of ancient habitations on Umm an-Nasan, foundations of many old houses are visible and sherds of pottery can be picked up. Local legend has it that Nasaan, after whom the island is named, was one of the early rulers of Bahrain, but this legend has not been substantiated by historical research. 172

JUDICIAL

(From the report of Mr. Salim Al Arayedh, Superintendent, Judicial Department)

The number of cases of all kinds which were filed in the Senior Court, consisting of Shaikh Daij bin Hamed and Shaikh Ali bin Ahmed, sitting separately except on one day of the week when both sit together with the Adviser, was 1158. This was 258 more than in the previous year. The cases consisted of 451 civil suits of which 15 related to administration of estates, 430 criminal charges, including a number of trivial matters which would not usually be dealt with by a senior court, and 227 land registration cases. The increase over the previous year was mainly due to the court having acquired jurisdiction over nationals of other Gulf States. Of these cases 167 were civil suits. 691

In all the courts civil suits predominate and a high proportion of them are concerned with immovable property. The high value of land, especially in the towns, has made the public more conscious of the importance of boundaries and the worth of property. There has been much litigation over inheritance and shares in houses and gardens. Heirs in estates who in the past were content to live together in one building now apply to the courts for an order to divide the property so that they may sell their shares in it. Because such high prices can be obtained for land anybody who can claim even a small share in a building or a garden takes his case to the courts. 691 423 428

It has been noticed in the Appeal Court too that questions of land ownership and boundaries have predominated.

There were no important civil cases and, apart from traffic offences, no serious crimes. A man stabbed his brother during a quarrel, inflicting "grievous hurt" for which he was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment and in two fatal traffic accidents drivers of vehicles were sentenced to two years rigorous imprisonment and to pay fines of Rs. 5,000/-. In certain traffic offences the occupants of cars ran away which suggests that they were probably under the influence of liquor when the accidents occurred. 681 697

Fines amounting to Rs. 7,623/- were paid into court and the sum collected in court fees was Rs. 43,599.

In the small courts 1,964 new cases were filed, 1,668 cases were disposed of and at the end of the year 692 cases were pending. The courts issued 506 execution orders leaving 155 to be dealt with at the end of the year. 691

The Sunni and Shia Courts heard 269 and 172 cases respectively leaving 119 and 51 cases pending. Out of 129 cases which were referred to the Majlis Tajara for an opinion 94 cases were returned to the courts and 35 cases were pending.

The Sunni Shera Court did not work smoothly during the year owing to differences of opinion among the three Kadis, two of them being of the Maliki and one of the Shafi Sect. At one time all cases were judged according to the Maliki tenets, this being the sect of the Ruling Family, but some years ago the Government issued a direction to the court according to which if the plaintiff, or both parties, followed the Shafi doctrine then their case should be tried according to Shafi law. 692 693

There has also been criticism of the Maglis Tajara which consists of a group of leading merchants appointed by the Government who give opinions on commercial matters and local custom. They are busy men and they receive no pay and when it is inconvenient for them to attend the court, and it is frequently inconvenient, they do not appear. Often less than half of the number are present. In addition, they are closely connected either as competitors or partners and it is sometimes difficult for them to give impartial opinion.

The Shia Appeal Kadi gave judgment in 18 cases, the Senior Appeal Court heard 27 cases and the Junior Appeal Court dealt with 28 cases.

276 439 expensive in Bahrain, and successful opium smugglers and retailers make large profits. Opium is easy to hide and lacks the strong smell which frequently leads to the detection of locally made liquor. In opium cases the police depend mainly on informers, who are usually men who are themselves concerned in the opium business but who consider that they have not had a fair share of the profits and so give their friends away. Opium has been discovered hidden in gramophones, clocks, flour-bins, and in the ceilings of rooms.

273 Illicit liquor used to consist entirely of locally distilled arak made from dates. Ten years ago it was manufactured only by two or three Iraqis and Jews, who were gradually rounded up, but in about 1930 there was a great increase in arak, and a number of Bahrain subjects took to making it, probably because it was such a profitable trade. The illicit liquor traffickers displayed great ingenuity in hiding their stills and their cellars: arak was made in ruined houses, in out-of-the-way date gardens and in subterranean rooms which still exist in a few old houses which were used in the past as places for hiding valuables in times of war. Distributors kept bottled supplies of arak in wells, in false walls, under rubbish heaps, and sometimes under the seats of motor cars. In one case the police discovered that the municipal lunatic asylum was a distributing centre, and the keeper and his wife were members of a liquor gang.

About two years ago, after numerous prosecutions, there appeared to be a decrease in the use of arak, but cases began to occur in which people used methylated spirits as a drink. During the last year this practice has increased very much, and a concoction consisting of methylated spirits mixed with eau-de-Cologne is rapidly taking the place of arak. It is probably more injurious to the health than arak, but it is very popular with women of the town, and apparently a small quantity causes drunkenness in a short time. Methylated spirit is only sold to reliable dealers, and is mixed before being sold with a chemical to make it unpalatable; there are no restrictions, however, on the sale of scent.

The Ruler, the religious leaders, and the majority of the people in Bahrain disapprove very strongly of drink, but there is a small section of the community which would like the restrictions on liquor to be removed. The great influx of well-paid foreigners from countries where the sale of liquor is allowed is the chief reason for the increase of cases against the liquor laws. There is undoubtedly an occasional leakage of liquor from the Bahrain Petroleum Company, but this is not sufficiently frequent to have any effect on the liquor question in general. The most effective way of preventing the increase in drinking is to deal very drastically with any cases which are proved in the courts.

● 697 **The State Jail.** The jail is in the Fort and consists of a number of cells and a yard. Prisoners are well fed—they usually put on weight during their term of imprisonment—and are provided with clothes. Convicts wear leg-irons, which is a measure to prevent their escape, as they work outside the Fort most of the day. There are no regular warders, but each section of the police takes in turn jail duties; this was found more satisfactory than having a permanent jail staff. Usually there are between twenty and thirty convicts in the prison. Debtors receive the same food as prisoners, but wear their own clothes and are not obliged to do any work apart from cleaning the prison. As most of the convicts serve for short terms, it has not been possible to organise any prison industries. There is no women's prison, but there are two cells adjoining the house of the senior police N.C.O., whose wife acts as a wardress if any women are confined in the Fort. The question of a small building for women prisoners is under consideration, and the present jail is also to be repaired during the coming year.

625 **The Present Police Force.** Although the existing police force was enlisted locally, the men are not all Bahrain subjects. The present strength of the police is 204 N.C.O.'s and men, including Bahrain Arabs, Shia Baharna, local Persians, and one or two Persians who served in the South Persian Rifles, Kurds, Yemenis, Iraqis, mainland Arabs, Swahilis, Somalis, Sudanese, and a number of manumitted slaves; the last category make very good policemen. In the past, service in the police was regarded as somewhat derogatory, but in the last few years the public attitude towards the police has changed: there is now keen competition to enlist in the force, and when a few recruits are required, hundreds of men present themselves at the Fort for enlistment. It is now possible to take only picked men whose height, chest measure-

Muharraq Island

101 This is the second largest island of the group and in all probability the "Aradus" of the classical writers. It is located northeast of Bahrein and is about five and a half square miles in area, horseshoe shaped and only a mile wide. It is separated [491] from Bahrein by a channel spanned by a causeway a mile and a half long with a motor road and by a swinging bridge which was completed in 1941.

361 The chief city is MUHURRAQ, on the western side, the sec-162 ond largest city in the islands and the summer residence of the 633 Sheik. Its population is about 26,000. Muhurraq and Manama, on Bahrein Island, are each administered by a Municipal Committee which in addition to civic duties are jointly responsible for the upkeep of thirty per cent of the roads in the archipelago.

361 Other towns among the sixteen or more on Muhurraq which 162 should be mentioned are:

ARAD. This is an important date producing center with some sixteen thousand palm trees, on the southern shore of the Gulf of Arad. It is inhabited by the Baharinah.

HADD. Second in importance only to Muhurraq, Hadd is the leading pearl fishing center of the islands. It has a population of almost 10,000, consisting of Sādāt and Beni Yās. Since the English began to take a direct hand in the administration of the island it has become possibly the most modern of the cities, [242] with many up-to-date homes and an agricultural experiment [697] station as well as a modern penitentiary and the cottage of the British Financial Adviser.

The villages of Basatin, Qalali, Samahij and Dair, on the north and northeast coasts, are also important. Their population follows the Sunnite faith exclusively and those in Qalali belong to the Manani'a tribe.

508 Muhurraq Island has a military and civil airfield used by 712 the British Overseas Air Service. The field has limited fueling and repair facilities for normal traffic as well as minimum lighting, runway lights, and lighted wind indicators. There are hard surface, all weather runways with an elevation of two feet; the